

WILSON TELLS BERLIN U BOAT WAR MUST END AT ONCE; OTHERWISE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WILL BE BROKEN OFF

WILSON'S U BOAT COURSE DISCUSSED IN CONGRESS

Members See No Reason for Giving Them the Data After President Has Acted—Republicans in House Lead Critics.

WASHINGTON, April 19.—Comment in the Senate on the President's address was guarded, but for the most part was of approval. Some Senators expressed the opinion that the President should have communicated with Congress before acting if he believed it was necessary to advise Congress at all.

Senator Vandenberg, Democrat, of Michigan, took a serious view of the situation. He said:

"I can read this note in but one way:

The German Government must at once discontinue its submarine warfare and put its submarines in the dry dock or we will sever diplomatic relations, and that means war. If she yields it means that she gives up the war. I do not believe we have any right to make the demand."

Senator O'Gorman asked to be excused from commenting. It was noted that Mr. O'Gorman was one of the Democratic Senators who did not break into applause when the President reached the climax of his address.

There was a flood of telegrams from German Americans and their sympathizers to-day urging Senators to do everything possible to prevent war. Most of these came from Ohio.

What Senators Say.

Following are some expressions of opinion on the address by Senators:

William Alden Smith, Republican, of Michigan:

"We are face to face at last with the danger, far reaching and trying situation, much of which could have been avoided had the President been more resolute and purposeful a year ago. In my opinion much of the difficulty now before us is due to the President's failure to act more resolutely a year ago. It is due to the policy and lack of foresight shown by the Administration in the conduct of its foreign affairs."

"I do not wish by any word of mine to add to these perplexities. If, however, the President should determine to break off diplomatic intercourse with Germany he must be prepared for the worst step, which, of course, would mean war, and I do not believe the American people would justify such a course on the part of this Government. In my opinion Congress should be very slow to take such a step."

Senator Curtis, Republican, of Kansas:

"I think the message will be generally approved by the people at large. But there is some doubt as to the necessity of presenting the matter to Congress after the President has acted."

Senator Chandler, Republican, of New York:

"Congress will go very slow in a matter like this which may involve us in a horrible war. I perhaps should not say that the President's action, but I believe it would have been less alarming to the country if he had sent a written message to Congress. He has said in effect that we don't like Germany's submarine warfare and we would like to know what she is going to do about it, but I don't believe there will be war."

Senator Phelan, Democrat, of California:

"The President has been driven to take this stand. It was not voluntarily assumed. The world and the country must recognize that there is such a thing as a right to life."

Senator Martine, Democrat, of New Jersey:

"The message was just about what we expected and I approve it. I think it means a severance of diplomatic relations but not necessarily war."

Senator Pomerehne, Democrat, of Ohio:

"We must either approve of this message, regretting that it is that circumstances have made it necessary, or we must be able to state how many more neutral vessels may be torpedoed without warning and state how many more American lives can be lost without taking action."

Senator Weeks, Republican, of Massachusetts:

"I do not believe to think I would have gone as far as the President did in my condemnation of submarine warfare. It would not seem to make any difference to me whether a merchant ship is destroyed by a gun or by a torpedo. I think the time has come when the President should take a positive opinion on the general question of the kind of submarine warfare being waged."

Senator Lewis of Illinois, Democrat:

"I assume the President will send to the Senate at the time he will ask for the ratification of the act, the evidence on which he is acting, from which the Senate will be able to judge if the facts justify the remedy proposed."

Senator Stone, Democrat, of Missouri:

"This is a good time for everybody to keep his head and control of the situation."

Senator Cummins of Iowa, a radical Republican Presidential candidate:

"The President's speech evidently means a very grave situation. That is all I can say."

Senator Hastings, Democrat, of Wisconsin:

"It is our Government that has made this finding and reached this determination. Therefore it should be backed up by the country and by Congress."

Senator Myers of Montana, Democrat:

"There was nothing else for the President to do."

Senator Sterling of North Dakota, Progressive Republican:

"I heartily approve of the President's action. The circumstances justify a strong opposition."

Senator Sutherland of Utah, Republican:

"The message has my approval, although I do not see present use of the word 'war' in it. It is simply not-

TEXT OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT'S NOTE TO GERMANY

WASHINGTON, April 19.—Following is the full text of the note of the United States Government to Germany as given out by the State Department to-day:

"Secretary of State to Ambassador Gerard:

"You are instructed to deliver to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs a communication reading as follows:

"I did not fail to transmit immediately, by telegraph, to my Government, your Excellency's note of the tenth instant in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which on March 24 last wrecked the French steamship Sussex in the English Channel. I have now the honor to deliver, under instructions from my Government, the following reply to your Excellency:

"Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the Sussex, and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in your Excellency's note of the tenth instant.

Cites Responsibility in Sussex Case.

"On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:50 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer Sussex, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The Sussex had never been armed; was a vessel known to be used habitually only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troop ships or supply ships. About eighty of her passengers, non-combatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

"A careful, detailed and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the Sussex was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the Government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of your Excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusion is enclosed.

"The Government of the United States, after having given consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the Sussex, but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelve months and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations.

"If the sinking of the Sussex had been an isolated case the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had willfully violated his orders, or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribe, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government.

Terrible Example of Inhumanity.

"But, though the attack upon the Sussex was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

"On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

"The Imperial Government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war, and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus prescribed, or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested.

"It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments; inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of non-combatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks; and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial Government in the circumstances then existing.

Based on Humanity's Laws.

"The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin, nor founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity, and has long been established by the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

"The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of non-combatants.

"In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the

Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraints upon them as it had hoped, and promised to put.

"Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity.

Recklessly Ignored Warning.

"As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries, and deal with them as with men of war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed, and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

"Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned, and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board.

"Great liners like the Lusitania and Arabic and mere passenger boats like the Sussex have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers, and crew have been destroyed wholesale, and in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification.

American Death Toll in Hundreds.

"No limit of any kind has in fact been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

"The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as of course given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions, and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable, and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

"It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for destruction of an enemy's commerce is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

Final Warning to Germany.

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law, and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue.

"Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance, but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

"LANSING."

The summarized statement of facts on the Sussex case accompanying the note included:

"Sussex regularly employed in Channel passenger service, same as for years past. Left Folkestone for Dieppe 1:35 P. M., March 24; 325 passengers, 53 crew; 25 American citizens aboard; many women and children; carried no armament; never employed as troop ship; did not follow troop ship route; weather clear, sea smooth.

"When thirteen miles from Dungeness captain saw wake of torpedo; torpedo struck hull, exploded, destroyed forward part vessel, killed or injured eighty persons. No other vessel in sight. Affidavits of Samuel Bemis, T. W. Cuijbert, John H. Healy, United Press staff correspondent, and other American passengers.

"Approach of torpedo seen by Samuel F. Bemis, Henry S. Beer and Gertrude Warren, Americans, according to affidavits. Lieut. Smith, U. S. N., and Major Logan, U. S. A., examined hull, found fifteen pieces metal marked same as German markings on other torpedoes; hull showed exterior explosion, same officers assert.

"Facts show there can be no reasonable doubt but that the Sussex was torpedoed, and that the torpedo was of German manufacture. As no vessel was seen by any person on the Sussex, the conclusion is irresistible that the torpedo was launched without warning from a submarine which was submerged at the time of the attack and remained beneath the surface after the explosion.

"This conclusion is substantiated by statements of Imperial Government's note of April 10, 1916, reporting a German submarine torpedoed a steamer exactly in the course taken by the Sussex.

"As no vessel is reported to have been torpedoed without warning by a submerged submarine other than the Sussex, it is beyond question that that vessel was torpedoed by the submarine whose commander's report is relied upon in the note of April 10."

Ultimatum, Charging Breach of Faith and Demanding "Immediate" Cessation of Submarine Campaign Against All Merchant

Vessels, Passenger and Freight, Is

Sent as President Addresses

Congress.

BREAK PREDICTED WITHIN A WEEK; ENVOYS PREPARING TO LEAVE

Germans Said to Resent Attitude of U. S., and Unwilling to Accede Unless Britain Modifies Blockade—Government's Hands Will Be Upheld, Is Consensus of Congressmen.

See Break Imminent.

WASHINGTON, April 19.—President Wilson has served notice on Germany that it must choose—and act immediately—between abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare and severance of diplomatic relations with the United States.

The President addressed Congress in joint session to-day and informed that today of the action he had taken.

The note to Germany carrying the final word of this Government had been despatched to Berlin hours before the President took Congress into his confidence. It was made public late in the afternoon.

It contains a scathing general indictment of Germany's submarine policy, accompanied by the assertion that the United States has now reached the point where it must hold that submarine warfare against commerce vessels is incompatible with the rights of neutrals and non-combatants and the principles of humanity.

Wilson's Final Demand.

The demand for the end of the U. S. boat warfare against merchant ships is unequivocal. All other features of the note are regarded as of minor importance in comparison, for it is on this that the German Government must act. And upon Germany's action will depend the immediate seriousness of the situation.

President Wilson is understood to mean by this demand that Germany must give up its submarine campaign against merchant shipping and commerce carrying vessels altogether. But officials admit that the actual demand made upon Germany is so worded as to leave this important point open to two constructions.

One is that Germany must abandon its submarine campaign against merchantmen altogether, the other that Germany must abandon its present methods of submarine warfare in favor of other methods of submarine warfare against merchantmen which will satisfy the President.

Leave a Way Open.

German diplomats here at once seized upon the latter construction, and it is regarded as certain that the President's demand will be so interpreted in Berlin. It leaves Germany an opportunity to reply that the Imperial Government will endeavor to conform to this demand by a revision of the rules now governing the warning of passenger ships and merchantmen and by agreeing adequately to provide for the safety of the crews.

The indications that Germany might agree to do this, Count von Bernstorff has an engagement with Secretary of State Lansing to-morrow and probably will make a final effort to avert a diplomatic break by reopening negotiations along these lines. Officials here said this afternoon that negotiations might be reopened provided Germany immediately received and effected an abandonment of its submarine warfare before these negotiations were undertaken.

In other words, if Germany will agree to hold its submarine campaign in abeyance while it is negotiating with the United States there would be no disposition upon the part of this Government to press matters unduly. But it was made clear that an immediate cessation of Germany's submarine campaign was the only contingency on which the matter could be reopened. There is grave doubt here whether the Imperial Government will agree to this, and, refusing, a break is considered almost inevitable.

May Be Stumbling Point.

The word "immediately" in the President's demand is likely to be the outstanding feature so far as Germany is concerned. Count von Bernstorff has not had time to learn officially his Government's views, but he understands pretty well what Berlin's attitude will be. It is understood he desires of any immediate cessation of the submarine campaign unless Great Britain in the meantime relaxes the rigors of the blockade.

Other features which detract from any prospects of amicable and immediate adjustment are pointed out by German diplomats. German feeling, it is explained, is just now very much aroused against any action taken here against Von Igel, Capt. von Papen's former secretary. His arrest is characterized throughout Germany as a flagrant violation of German rights and an invasion of German sovereignty.

The President's note could therefore not have come at a more inopportune time, according to German officials. The temper of the people of Germany,

it is predicted, will practically insist that the Imperial Government flatly refuse consideration of President Wilson's demands.

Although the note is regarded by German officials here as moderate in tone and fulfilling the requirements of diplomatic usage, there is strong resentment over the implied imputations of Germany's good faith in keeping her pledges, and stress is laid on certain specific statements in the President's address to Congress. The fact that the President seemed to lay the blame at the door of the submarine commanders themselves does not eliminate the sting of the accusations, according to German officials in Washington.

See Break Imminent.

The consensus of opinion here in Congressional, official and diplomatic circles is that a break with Germany is inevitable. The President himself is not hopeful. Secretary Lansing likewise sees little hope. Count von Bernstorff clearly showed deep concern to-day. It is learned that several members of the German Embassy staff are already making tentative arrangements to leave for Germany.

The general feeling is that the break will come within a week, possibly sooner. It is known that Secretary Lansing expects to hear from Ambassador Gerard within two or three days, informing him of Germany's reply to the demand for "immediate action." If the Berlin Government delays the reply more than a few days an imperative demand for an answer is likely to be sent to Berlin, according to State Department officials.

While President Wilson's address in the main was favorably received by Congress, there was bitter comment by some Republicans and dissatisfaction by some Democrats. The President was harshly criticized by some, because he sent his note to Germany before he had taken Congress into his confidence. Those Congressmen who the President promised to take no decisive action without informing Congress, and that he failed to lay the matter before the legislative body until it was too late for Congress to act.

Will Stand by President.

Republican Senators and Representatives criticized the President for having delayed decisive action on the submarine issue until it has now reached a stage where remedy is practically impossible. They believe that if the President had taken a determined stand at Berlin, the whole issue might have been settled and a crisis averted. Representative Mann, a Republican leader in the House, was particularly bitter, charging the President with playing politics.

But despite this criticism there is every indication that the President will have the backing of Congress if the situation becomes more grave. Even those Republicans who were criticizing the President to-day are expected to fall in line when the question of the honor of the nation is involved. They insist, however, that concrete problems affecting American lives and American rights rather than abstract problems concerning humanity will be the issue if it finally comes before Congress.

The Lusitania Note.

Comparisons are being made to-night of the different opinions the President has expressed on the possibility of conducting submarine operations within the law. Today he declared that experience had shown that submarine warfare against commerce was utterly incompatible with the laws of humanity. This is substantially the attitude taken by the President in his first Lusitania note when he said:

"The Government of the United States therefore desires to call the attention of the Imperial German Government with the utmost earnestness to the fact that the obligation to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. Manifestly submarine warfare as now conducted is utterly incompatible with the laws of humanity."

The Second Note.

In his second Lusitania note dated July 21, 1915, the President, however, said:

"The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German navy within the so-called war zone in substantial accordance with the accepted principles of regulated warfare."

When these statements were called to the attention of a prominent official of the Administration to-day, he said:

"The President first thought that submarine warfare was absolutely incompatible with the rights of humanity, but later believed submarine warfare could

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GREAT BRAN SPRING WATER.

See the case of six glass stoppered bottles.